

Message Text

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DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 EUR-12 SAM-01 DHA-02 AID-05

OMB-01 ACDA-10 ARA-10 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 /111 W
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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 5201

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 PRETORIA 03618

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SF, US, RY, XJ, PFOR

SUBJECT: MULLER SPEECH

REF: PRETORIA 3616

1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF AFRIKAANS PORTION OF
MULLER SPEECH DELIVERED AT NATAL NATIONALIST CONGRESS ON
AUGUST 13.

2. " SOUTH AFRICA'S RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD AS CONTRIBUTION
TO INTERNAL STABILITY: DR. HILGARD MULLER DURING THE NATAL
NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS, 13 AUGUST 1976"

" WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF TENSION AND CONFLICT. A PERSON
NEED ONLY THINK BACK OVER THE POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE LAST
YEAR OR TWO TO BECOME CONVICTED OF THE STUMBLING BLOCKS
IN THE WAY OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL STABILITY.
AS ONE CRISIS AFTER ANOTHER IS CLOSELY EXAMINED, THE
QUESTION ARISES WHETHER IT IS REALLY PEACE WHICH EVERYONE
IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IS STRIVING FOR, OR IF SOME ARE
NOT PURPOSELY GOING FORWARD TOWARD A POWER CONFRONTATION.
IN LIGHT OF THIS THE DECISION OF THE NATIONAL PARTY OF
NATAL TO DEVOTE SUCH A LARGE PORTION OF ITS CONGRESS'
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TIME TO INTERNAL STABILITY MUST BE WELCOMED.
THE GENERAL WORLD SITUATION AND THE DARK CLOUDS WHICH
HANG OVER SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY ARE NOT LIMITED
TO THE FAR HORIZON, MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE TO

EXAMINE CLOSELY, THE THREAT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S STABILITY.

IT IS NOT AT ALL FAR-FETCHED TO MAKE THE OBSERVATION THAT PRESSURES ARE BEING EXERTED IN OTHER COUNTRIES PURPOSEFULLY TO UNDERMINE OUR INTERNAL STABILITY.

THERE ARE MANY BURNING PROBLEMS AND BOTTLENECKS, CONCERNING BOTH OUR INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS, FOR WHICH IN THE NEAR FUTURE ANSWERS MUST BE OBTAINED.

THIS IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY, NOT ONLY IN SO FAR AS OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS CONCERNED, BUT ALSO FOR OUR INTERNAL STABILITY.

MY TASK TODAY IS TO INFORM THE CONGRESS ABOUT HOW SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN POLICY-- OUR RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD-- CONTRIBUTE TO INTERNAL STABILITY.

BEFORE I BEGIN WITH THAT, I HOPE YOU WILL ALLOW ME TO SHOW THAT JUST AS EXTERNAL RELATIONS CAN HAVE AN EFFECT ON INTERNAL STABILITY, SO CAN INTERNAL STABILITY OR THE LACK OF IT, HAVE FAR-REACHING EFFECTS ON A COUNTRY'S EXTERNAL RELATIONS.

THIS HOLDS FOR SOUTH AFRICA PERHAPS IN A GREATER MEASURE THAN OTHER COUNTRIES SINCE SOUTH AFRICA IS CONTINUOUSLY THE TARGET FOR ATTACKS FROM OUTSIDE, AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY IS CONTINUOUSLY PLACED UNDER A MAGNIFYING GLASS BY THE WORLD.

WE MUST BE REALISTS AND SIMPLY ACCEPT THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD WILL NOT BE COMPLETELY NORMAL BEFORE WE SUCCEED IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD AND ACCORDING TO THE JUDGMENT OF THE WORLD IN SATISFACTORILY SOLVING THE PROBLEM POINTS IN OUR RELATIONS.

SOUTH AFRICA HAD FOR MANY YEARS IN THE PAST A REPUTATION AS ONE OF THE MOST STABLE COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD IN POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND VIRTUALLY ALL OTHER ASPECTS, AND OBJECTIVE OBSERVERS HAD NEVER-FAILING CONFIDENCE IN OUR FUTURE.

BUT AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE IT CAME TO BE BELIEVED, BY THE UNITED NATIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT IT WAS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE THE WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD UNDERGO THE SAME FATE AS UNCLASSIFIED

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THE WHITES IN OUR TWO PORTUGUESE NEIGHBOR STATES. THIS ENCOURAGED OUR ENEMIES TO SHARPEN THEIR EFFORTS TO ISOLATE US TOTALLY, AND THEN TO BRING ABOUT OUR FALL. GREAT WAS THEIR SURPRISE AND DISAPPOINTMENT WHEN IN PRACTICE IT APPEARED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA WAS NOT DISASTROUS FOR US AS THEY HAD EXPECTED AND HOPED.

AFTER THE UNHAPPY EVENTS IN SOWETO AND ELSEWHERE, AND A FEW OTHER SETBACKS WHICH YOU ARE AWARE OF, THE GENERAL REACTION WAS MUCH THE SAME AS AFTER THE FALL OF THE CAETANO GOVERNMENT. THESE RIOTS, AND ESPECIALLY THE RUSSIAN-CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, WERE ONCE AGAIN TAKEN UP BY OUR ENEMIES AND CRITICS TO CREATE A CLIMATE

FOR DISASTROUS CONFRONTATION BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE
IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND AS A RESULT OF THAT ALSO ONE OF
UNCERTAINTY OF THE WHITE FUTURE IN OUR COUNTRY.
IT IS NOT MY TASKS TO TALK ABOUT INTERNAL AFFAIRS.
IN THIS CONNECTION I WILL THUS PROPOSE ONLY THIS
THESIS:
UNTIL IT IS COMPLETELY CLEAR THAT THE NATIONAL PARTY'S
POLICY OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OFFERS THE SOLUTION FOR
ALL OUR PEOPLE'S PROBLEMS, WHICH ALL NATIONALISTS BELIEVE
THAT IT WILL OFFER, UNTIL WE COME TO THE PRACTICAL POINT
AT WHICH WE NO LONGER FURNISH AMMUNITION FOR OUR ENEMIES
TO SHOOT AT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, SO LONG WILL OUR
POSITION IN THE FREE WORLD BE DIFFICULT.
THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE
WHICH ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO UNDERMINE THE
CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS WHICH WE HAVE MADE WITH OUR DEVELOPMENT
POLICIES.

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THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT HESITATE TO COUNTER THEM,
AND TO FRUSTRATE THEIR EFFORTS, AMONG OTHER THINGS TO
SEE THAT THE CHANCES FOR A REPETITION OF SOWETO AND
OTHER RIOTS ARE LIMITED TO A MINIMUM.
BUT I WILL LEAVE IT AT THAT.
IN VIEW OF THE DISADVANTAGES AND DANGERS OF THE
LACK OF STABILITY FOR THE COUNTRY ITSELF, AND THE NEGATIVE
RESULT WHICH IT HAS ON INTERNATIONAL STABILITY, THE
INSTABILITY OF A PARTICULAR STATE CAN SOMETIMES HAVE A
DIRECT EFFECT ON ITS RELATIONS WITH ANOTHER STATE, AS
SOUTH AFRICA HAS UNHAPPILY AND TO OUR DISADVANTAGE,
ALREADY DISCOVERED.
IN THE CASE OF A NUMBER OF STATES IN AFRICA AND
SOUTH AMERICA POLITICAL INSTABILITY WHICH BEGOT COUPS

RESULTED IN THE IMMEDIATE END OF COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

THIS WAS FOR EXAMPLE THE CASE WITH MADAGASCAR, WHERE WE WERE DEVELOPING GOOD RELATIONS WITH PRESIDENT TSIRINANA'S GOVERNMENT, AND ALSO THE CASE OF GHANA WHERE DR. BUSIA WAS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF DIALOG WITH SOUTH AFRICA. SETBACKS SUCH AS THESE, HOWEVER, DID NOT PREVENT US FROM PURSUING PRESENT EFFORTS IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE TO MAKE AND BUILD NEW CONTACTS. THE RESULT OF THIS IS THAT OUR DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR UNCLASSIFIED

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RELATIONS HAVE EXPANDED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS TO A TOTAL OF 12 LATIN AMERICAN STATES. OUR CONTACTS WITH A FURTHER DOZEN AFRICAN STATES HAVE ALSO BEEN BUILT UP. YOU MIGHT ASK WHY THE GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED IN THIS DIRECTION.

THE ANSWER LIES IN FRONT OF US.

IN THE MODERN WORLD IT IS SIMPLY OUT OF THE QUESTION FOR ANY COUNTRY, REGARDLESS OF ITS SIZE OR STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT, TO EXIST IN ISOLATION.

FROM THE SMALLEST STATES TO THE SUPERPOWERS, ALL HAVE A NEED FOR FRIENDS, ALLIES, AND TRADING PARTNERS. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHICH IS SO POWERFUL AND SELF-SUFFICIENT THAT IT IS NOT DEPENDENT ON OTHER COUNTRIES IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

WHILE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, JUST AS ALL OTHER GOVERNMENTS, MUST SEE THAT WE DO NOT FALL INTO INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION, OUR TASK IS MORE DIFFICULT THAN THAT OF MOST OTHER GOVERNMENTS. THERE HAS FOR MANY YEARS BEEN A PURPOSEFUL WORLDWIDE CAMPAIGN TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA AND TO FORCE OUR WHITES TO THEIR KNEES. IT IS THUS OBVIOUS THAT THE BUILD-UP OF SOUTH AFRICA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IS A STEP FORWARD.

NEVERTHELESS WE WERE NOT PREPARED TO BUY FRIENDSHIP OR TO TRY TO GAIN THE FAVOR OF OTHERS BY EXERTING PRESSURE FROM OUTSIDE, OR BY MAKING CONCESSION IN THE CARRYING OUT OF OUR BASIC POLICY.

THE TOUCHSTONE OF OUR APPROACH, THE QUESTION WHICH WE ASKED OURSELVES IS:

WHAT IS THE BEST POLICY FOR SOUTH AFRICA?

OUR POLICY IS SIMPLY SOUTH AFRICA FIRST.

JUST AS THERE IS NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD WHICH CAN EXIST IN ISOLATION, THERE IS ALSO NOT A SINGLE COUNTRY WHICH CAN UNTIE ITSELF FROM ITS NEIGHBORS IN THE REST OF THE WORLD. SOUTH AFRICA IS NO EXCEPTION.

IF IT IS THE GOLD PRICE IN LONDON, A RESOLUTION IN THE UN, OR THE PRESENCE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY-- WE CANNOT CLOSE OUR EYES TO IT.

FURTHERMORE, IT IS ALSO OF IMPORTANCE TO US THAT THERE BE PEACE IN OUR SUBCONTINENT, THAT LAW AND ORDER ARE OBSERVED, THAT OUR NEIGHBORS DO NOT HAVE SHORTAGES OF

FOOD OR OTHER OF LIFE'S NECESSITIES, BUT THAT EVERYONE
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EXISTS HAPPILY AND THAT THERE IS A GOOD OUTLOOK FOR
THEIR FUTURE.

WHEN THE GOVERNMENT ENDEAVORS TO COOPERATE WITH AFRICAN
STATES AND TRIES TO ENCOURAGE PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN
AFRICA, WE DO IT NOT ON GROUNDS OF MERE CHARITY, ALTHOUGH
WE RECOGNIZE THAT WE AS A CHRISTIAN PEOPLE AND AFRICAN
STATE HAVE OBLIGATIONS TOWARD AFRICA, THAT WE WILL
WILLINGLY FULFILL AND THAT WE ARE PRE-EMINENTLY SUITED FOR.
WE DO IT, HOWEVER, ON GROUNDS OF PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS--
ITS IMPORTANCE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND ABOVE ALL, OUR
OWN NATIONAL INTEREST. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO SHY AWAY
FROM THE FACT THAT WE DO IT TO STRENGTHEN AND PROTECT
OUR OWN POSITION IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD. THE GOVERNMENT
NEED NOT ASK PARDON FROM ANYONE THAT IT FOLLOWS A
POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA FIRST. WE DON'T HAVE TO BE ASHAMED
TO OUR OWN PEOPLE OR TO THE REST OF THE WORLD. THE
GOVERNMENT DOESN'T NEED TO FEEL GUILTY IN REGARD TO OUR
SUPPORTERS IN THE NATIONAL PARTY AND OTHER TAXPAYERS FOR
EXPENDITURES IN THIS CONNECTION. BECAUSE WHAT WE DO
IS NECESSARY AND IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

IN FACT, IF THE GOVERNMENT HAD NOT DONE IT, IT WOULD
HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF SHORTSIGHTENESS AND SERIOUS NEGLECT
OF DUTY.

ALTHOUGH SOUTH AFRICA AS AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY HAS
NOT HAD A LONG HISTORY OF CONCERN WITH INTERNATIONAL
AREAS, OUR PERFORMANCE AND WILLINGNESS TO WORK TOGETHER
WITH OTHERS IS WIDELY RECOGNIZED.

IF WE LOOK AT THE SITUATION OVER THE SHORT RUN IT
LOOKS AS IF THE WINDS OF ANTAGONISM ARE SO SEVERE THAT
OUR EFFORTS MAY PERHAPS NOT BE CROWNED WITH EARLY SUCCESS.

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